

- 622 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black
292 hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e hu'a*, an oblong frontlet
about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and
green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses.
[304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo de-
sign on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to
them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning
his workers and warriors.

FAMILY ALLIANCES

- 622 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another
582 chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favor-
able. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a
chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired
to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in
rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting
property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand,
on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out
of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou
it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that
valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same val-
ley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the
head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found
among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-
103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

- 622 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Mar-
582 quesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that
171 children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were re-
garded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii,
nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no
[847] such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast
[848] with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers
and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others.
There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii
to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 600
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The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

INHERITANCE

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supersede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members of the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622
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PERSONAL TAPU

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaka*, 622
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[184]
[689]
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753 For example, if a father, living in *Atu Omu*, had a relative who
[262] had been killed in *Hana Iapa*, he must eat no food from that valley.
Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would be-
[755] come ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought
the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves
824 and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house,
and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony
was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

POSITION AND RIGHTS

858 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or
428 female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations,
house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, orna-
ments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal posses-
sions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born
children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known
as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was
because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral
stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance
was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was
regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking
about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest,
especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made
to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the
place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property
went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he
could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple
were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i*
ha'a-te-pe'iu.

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ances-
[764] tral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for eleva-
tion of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs
that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock,
it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his
father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14,
p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth
of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories
[534] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact
that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

ADOPTION

TERMS AND CONVENTIONS

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 597

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [557] [428] •

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565] [184]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

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[627] *Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group, is govern-*
ed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the
rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These
chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other.
Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more
fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large
domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful
[651] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the
lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment
according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by
hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consult-
ing their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making
• [928] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by
sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohiaia and two
other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohiaia
married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the
other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension
of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses
should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their
husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should
thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy
would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would
be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar al-
liances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are
in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective na-
tions.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established
religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in
the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right
seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and
murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge
might dictate.

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
 784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.

[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.

[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
 • 428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
 611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
 611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is

[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-

[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-